This is a pre-print version of an article which was published as Candea M. 2014. "There is Something": Charlie Galibert's Corsica. *Anthropological Quarterly* 87: 525-540.

'There is something': Charlie Galibert's Corsica

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> Corsica writes itself alone, alone it reads itself. Where am I on this Moebius strip, where I can guess the time that trembles under the transparent skin of the island, and where I can see, on this same skin, the prosaic and magical theater of a thousand emotional tattoos, other forms and forces of existence, a scene upon a scene, upon which play the flaming shadows of the villagers as, sunlike, they stand upright and yet incline towards the mystery? *Qualcosa c'hè*
>
> [there is something]
>
> Galibert 2004b:145[1]

French anthropologist Didier Fassin has recently complained that the 'predominant epistemological position' of his discipline in France remains oriented towards remoteness and structure, leaving 'little space for the ethnography of nearby, heterogeneous, changing societies' (2006). Charlie Galibert's evocative studies of the Corsican village of Sarrola-Carcopino (2004a, 2004b, 2008) produce a welcome disturbance to this intellectual landscape. Galibert's work engages with Corsica, France's most prominent 'internal other', not as a structural invariant, but as a complex, heterogeneous and shifting historical entity. While his principal focus is on one village, Galibert's work

[1] All translations are my own.

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radically reshuffles the venerable tradition of community studies, crafting a complex and multi-vocal account which doubles up as a powerful anthropological meditation on identity, difference and place.

How does one describe a village? Like many commentators on Corsica before him and since (Lenclud 1979, Ravis-Giordani 1983, Candea 2007), Galibert encountered the difficulty of producing a monographic account of a Corsican village: any attempt at a meaningful totalisation comes up against the twin problems of internal differentiation and external extensions (Galibert 2005). Others who faced this difficulty have resolved it through new geographic typologies (Geronimi 1983, cf. 2004B:65), or simply eschewed the project of describing the village itself as a meaningful place, turning it instead into an 'arbitrary location' in which to pursue other traces (Candea 2007, 2010). By contrast, Galibert made the difficult choice of staying with the village despite its external extensions and internal multiplicities. Eschewing the monographic mode, and echoing the 'polyphony' characteristic of Corsican singing (2004B: 142), Galibert has produced a 'polygraphy' of the Corsican village of Sarrola-Carcopino which seeks to approach it as an anthropological place, through repeated and diverse returns.

In his first book, *La Corse, une Ile et le monde* Galibert turns the village inside-out, tracing the extension of one phenomenological place across time and space. The book unravels and puts back together the village of Sarrola-Carcopino through a minute examination of the letters of one of its inhabitants, turned French colonial officer at the turn of the 20th century. Taking us from South-East Asia to the Sudan via Madagascar, Galibert's account traces the extended and multi-sited coherence of one village 'carried within oneself to the end of the world' (2004A), showing how letters from thousands of miles away keep alive the minute work of kinship and locality. *Guide non touristique d'un village*

corse (2004b) provides a more personal reflection on the village of Sarrola-Carcopino drawn from the many years of Galibert's own residence in the village, which doubles up as an experiment in anthropological epistemology, and a deep meditation on the possibility of an insider-outsider perspective. This short book is written in multiple voices, alternating the poetic with the theoretical, weaving intertextually in and out of long quotations. The result is in the image of the village it describes: multiple, evocative and full of internal resonances. Galibert's most recent book, *Sarrola 14-18* (2008) further extends the village historically as well as geographically, through a detailed, phenomenologically informed historiography of the first world war's interface with Corsica and with Sarrola in particular. The village itself and its continuity through time are traced in a long chapter (pp 131-175) which acts as the temporal axis along which the specific lives and deaths of 1914-18 gather their meaning. Taken together, Galibert's accounts of Sarrola-Carcopino show poignantly how the coherence and power of village and islander identity are achieved in the very multiplicity of perspective, how the historical and affective meaning of Corsica and Sarrola-Carcopino could be wrought within and not despite the extension of French empire, and the vicissitudes of a World War.

Throughout this work Galibert moves seamlessly between the languages, methods and concerns of anthropology, philosophy, sociology, psychology, history and literature. Anglophone anthropology, despite its well-established disciplinary autonomy both in the UK and US, has long been open to interdisciplinary influences, and exciting and productive instances of work which incorporates the methods and concerns of history, sociology, law and political economy abound (for a few examples among many, see for instance Shryock 2004, Bowen 2006, Silverstein 2006). But even against this background, Galibert's writing still has the power to surprise and even slightly disconcert the more

traditionally-minded Anglophone anthropological reader. Indeed Galibert's is not the familiar voice of an anthropologist complementing their own enthnographic insights with the knowledges of other disciplines, but rather a protean discourse between disciplines and styles, almost *anti*-disciplinary in its multivocality. In some respects, this writing recalls the self-consciously experimental work of anthropologists such as Stephen Tyler (1986) or later Kim Fortun (2001); it speaks, however of a different intellectual trajectory, harking to a French anthropology which has always been inhabited, informed and occasionally even overtaken by philosophy, sociology, and artistic movements such as surrealism, as well as rural ethnology and folklore studies (Hodges, forthcoming); an anthropology which has produced a Michel Leiris, as well as a Pierre Bourdieu, a Marcel Mauss as well as a Claude Levi-Strauss.

While the bulk of Galibert's material on Sarrola-Carcopino is historical, sociological and phenomenological rather than ethnographic in the classic sense of vignettes drawn from participant observation, this work remains deeply anthropological in its commitment to making a particular account of an irreducibly 'local' place speak to broad theoretical, indeed philosophical, concerns: from emplacement and identity to myth, death, time, kinship, colonialism, knowledge and war. Given the generative multiplicity of Galibert's writing, any attempt to encompass even one of his books – let alone his entire corpus[2] – in such a short piece is bound to failure. I will therefore focus in this article primarily on one key aspect of Galibert's first book, namely his account of the village as a place beyond space. This approach challenges, I will argue, some deep-seated anthropological thought habits concerning the 'imagination of community'. But I will begin with a brief consideration of the second book, which provides us with an insight into some of the

[2] Galibert has also produced many scholarly articles and a book on globalisation (2006), as well as a number of works of fiction.

concerns which motivate Galibert's decision to stay with the village despite its elusive geographies.

An 'interstitial anthropology'

"Habiter est aussi écrire, écrire est aussi habiter" (2004B, 127)[3]

The problem of knowledge is one of the quintessential starting points in Francophone writing on Corsica. Whether through discussions of prejudice, mystery or secretiveness, through the dry concern of surveying and accounting for political or geographical intricacies, or more recently through the problematic of 'anthropological' and 'native' ways of knowing the island, this thematic has haunted non-fiction (and fiction) writing on Corsica for at least as long as the island has been a part of France. Taking up the anthropological aspect of this problematic, Charlie Galibert's work offers a sophisticated and profound reflection on this question, grounded to great effect in his own unusual and complex positionality as non-native villager turned anthropologist.

As Galibert himself noted in a review of the multitude of francophone anthropological and ethnological works on Corsica (2005), these tend to take an internal or an external perspective: internal positionalities make claims to immanent knowledge rooted in belonging, while external approaches try to rationalise, systematise and dissect otherness. Against this background, Galibert's work on Corsica aims for a double vision which is both external and internal: "I have wished to embark upon this reflection on the village, both as the villager which in a certain way I am, following twenty-five years of sporadic visits, of departures and returns, and as the stranger which, in another way, I will always remain." (2004B:12). This in and of itself is not particularly novel – an interstitial

[3] "To inhabit is also to write, to write is also to inhabit"

positionality and a conjunction of perspectives has often been described as the quintessential anthropological move (Geertz 1988, Pina Cabral 1992). Even in the Corsican context, some form of double vision has in fact been the norm in recent non-fiction accounts of Corsica (cf. Candea 2010:60-64). With few exceptions, however, this follows the canonical model of 'native anthropology': an islander writing academically about the island, conjoining an internal perspective based on belonging, to an external perspective based on a set of disciplinary canons and distancing devices. Often, this double standpoint either echoes or inverts a particular narrative of encompassment of the internal by the external, characteristic also of French nation-building, in which one's rooted attachment to and insight into one's *terroir* acts as the heart and anchor of an abstract, rationalised (read French) perspective (cf. Thiesse 1997).

Galibert's double perspective by contrast is subtly yet markedly different. On the one hand, in the mold of native ethnography, Galibert was a villager before he became a researcher (the doctorate upon which this work is based dates from 2000): his previous two decades of sporadic visits were thus a personal life-trajectory radically unlike the returning anthropologist's progressive sedimentation into a place, which is always marked by the original act of coming there *to study it*. Galibert therefore writes with a villager's commitment to restituting the distinctiveness of *this* place, its meaning as a centre and something of its hold on its inhabitants, amongst which he counts himself. Commenting on the socio-economic changes in Sarrola-Carcopino over the past decades, for instance, he notes "If, as a *stranger*, I do not have to bear the weight of a history marked by nostalgia, as a *villager* nevertheless, how could I deny feeling, at the most elementary level of relations of kinship and friendship, the feeling of the loss and the flight of "something"." (2004B, 109)

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And yet, as a native neither to the village nor to Corsica, the internal branch of Galibert's double positionality is itself double, drawn as it is from "my life over there (here?), as *mezzu paesanu*, half-villager, neither quite *pinzutu* (French), nor *appiccicatu* (affine)." (2004B, 19). Galibert writes as an insider/outsider twice over, his internal positionality always-already fractured, restless, partial, even before the adjunction of the researcher's gaze. This deep yet delicately handled reflexivity recalls some of the best recent Anglophone work on the complexities of identity, such as Susan Ossman's edited volume on serial migrants (2007), written by authors who are themselves serial migrants – a layered complexity of insider-outsider positionalities, foregrounding individual, careful narratives which cast equal doubt on generalised models of abstract cosmopolitanism and of rooted identity.

Galibert's bok, however, hovers around local essentialist formulations of identity (epitomized by the saying *ci vole nasce per pasce* - 'you have to be born (here) to graze'), to which the author applies his double vision. On the one hand, and despite the occasional references to Heideggerian dwelling, the author as theorist frequently denounces the limits of cultural essentialism and analytical closure in the classic monographic mold; on the other, the author as (partial) villager often expresses a more personal yearning, a longing for the island which is cut off by a sense of irremediable externality ("the stranger [...] I will always remain"). This is a yearning for another kind of – unattainable – wholeness beyond totality: "There is something. Something other than the same. Something other than everything I can [do], than everything I can say or write about it. Something that the village itself, perhaps, doesn't know." (2004B, 141).

It is this restless search for the *something* of the village and of Corsica which motivates Galibert's accounts, spurs them on to a range of approaches, both literal and metaphorical, to the village of Sarrola Carcopino. In the *Guide non touristique*, the

impossible figure of the totalising monograph is thus replaced by a polygraphy (2004B, 142), in which personal, lyrical evocations sit alongside epistemological considerations, philosophical snippets from Seneca (who was once exiled in Corsica), rub shoulders with Corsican proverbs and economic history shares the page with metaphors and myths. At times, we are presented with the prospect of a "total anthropology" of an Other whose "value is not in relation to me, or in relation to others; it is worthwhile insofar as it exists, irreducibly, for itself." (2004B, 123). At other times, this totality of the Other is problematised by a multiplication of perspectives on the village, multiplications of the village, each perspective a totality whose accumulation somehow never can catch up with the ineffable something at which they are successively thrown (2004B, 130), since "totality forgets that which is essential" (2004B, 194). I have said enough, perhaps, to convince the reader that this book is not one which gains from being summarised or reduced. Both as an account of Sarrola-Carcopino and as an experimental meditation on anthropological epistemology, *Guide non touristique d'un village corse* thrives on internal multiplicity, a constant striving to be other to itself.

Extended intimacies: the village, the island, the world

"The village stretches out beyond its frontiers and comes to unroll its space and time onto the Tonkin, Madagascar or the Sudan" (2004A:28)

Guide non touristique, then, is an 'intensive' book, which attempts to approach through successive framings, the ineffable something of an inherently multiple object/subject of study, in an ever-repeated attempt to overcome the inherently partiality of the anthropological gaze. *La Corse, une Ile et le monde*, by contrast, is an 'extensive' book, which traces the 'something' of the village and the island beyond mere geography. The latter, I would argue, could be seen as an instance of a very important recent transformation in

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the anthropology of identity.

The anthropology of identity has long been guided by Benedict Anderson's famously equivocal statement, according to which 'all communities *larger* than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.' (Anderson, 1991:6). While Anderson is ultimately rejecting a distinction between the really real and the merely imagined, the overdetermined figure of the 'primordial village of face-to-face contact' remains something of a double agent in the account. For if the village too, is (perhaps) an imagined community, Anderson still leaves us with the impression that it is *also* something else: a real community, a local entity, full of interconnected 'insiders'. Indeed, the entire problematic of Anderson's book presupposes the counter-example of the real local village community, since the principal question is, implicitly, how a sense of community can be achieved by people who do not *in fact* live in face-to-face interaction. This is primarily a question of scale, and we could recast Anderson's thesis as an account of the 'scaling-up' of community, a scaling-up which implies a transformation in form and nature, from local face-to-face social interaction, to national, technologically mediated imagination (see also Shryock 2004, Candea, n.d.).

This Andersonian problematic of community has long inhabited anthropology in the form of a scalar division of labour. The question of local knowledge and the way people relate to one another has generated a classic literature on face-to-face interaction in small-scale communities, and more recently a phenomenologically inflected exploration of dwelling and way-finding (Zonabend, 1990; Frake, 1996; Degnen 2008). However, when the actors scale up their claims from villages to nations, and from friends and

relatives to whole peoples, anthropologists tend to switch their analytics to the theme of social constructions, metaphors and "imagined communities". Talk of concrete social structures, or embodied forms of dwelling tend to give way to an analysis of discourses, tropes and imaginations. This division of labour, and Anderson's argument about imagined communities, are based on the assumption that the kind of substantial connections between people and place which one finds in "small-scale communities" cannot extend very far without becoming metaphorical. As they become metaphorical, they also enter the Barthian realm of contrastive definition (Chapman, 1978; McDonald, 1989).

Michael Herzfeld's work on cultural intimacy (1997) was one of the first to bridge this scalar gap, by extending a distinctly ethnographic purview to the broader scale of national and ethnic belonging (see also Herzfeld 1987 for a forerunner of this scalar argument). This insight, combined with a multi-sited imaginary, has led other anthropologists to map what I will call below 'extended intimacies' which disturb Anderson's scalar assumptions to great effect. Work such as Andrea Smith's on Maltese settlers (2006), or the above-mentioned volume by Ossman (2007) transcend the scalar division of labour between real local identity and metaphorical national constructs, by stretching emplacement out over new configurations of space and time. As Marcus puts it, "[t]he sense of the object of study being "here and there" has begun to wreak productive havoc on the "being there" of classic ethnographic authority." (Marcus 1999:117) – but it has also lent a new meaning (and in some cases a new authority) to temporally and geographically unconventional claims to identity and belonging: once place is 'all over the place', being from somewhere takes on a whole new meaning, and the use of geography and scale to sort the real from the metaphorical breaks down.

La Corse, une ile et le monde, Galibert's account of Sarrola-Carcopino through the travels of

Jean-Simon Bonardi, adds a powerful and distinctive voice to this emergent anthropological project. Bonardi, young soldier departing for the colonial service in 1893, takes with him a map of the village, which he will bring back, covered in the marks of travel and time. Galibert approaches this 'archive document' phenomenologically:

> "The left side of the map is entirely void of land and contour lines: sea or desert, virgin space which, in its very emptiness leaves a space for every imaginary inhabitation, for every voyage, for every exile. Jean-Simon's whole future is in this folded/unfolded map: the sea and the beyond (*l'outre-mer*), voyages as initiation, the land of the *commune* as a home port (*port d'attache*) to which one always returns, where roots await. [...] Blackened by the contact of hands and the rigors of climate, yellowed, stained, ripped where it was folded, and yet intact: "lived". [...] He could probably read it otherwise than as a map: in its traces and stains, in its hidden and secret folds, in its suns and its long seasons of tropical rain.
>
> Given the detail of the relief, he can even project his house, the one whose parts his grand-father Santu bought back from his brothers in June 1836, together with the family property at Pratuccheddu. He can note the landmarks of the *commune*, the road which snakes from the Ponte Bonello in the plain up to the pass of San Lusoriu in the mountains, carefully avoiding Sarrola, and leads back down towards Cannelle and his uncle's parish house, where Palme, his elder sister, is working." (2004A: 50)

The first disturbance here is stylistic and methodological: the book as a whole mixes materiality and metaphor, fiction and function, blurring the lines between argument and evocation in a way which disciplinary purists may balk at, but which provides an important counterpoint to the assumed dichotomy I have described above. The core truth enclosed in Galibert's poetic method is precisely that metaphors and materiality,

real and imagined connections, are not so easy to untangle. Some of us may wish, nevertheless, to try – but that is a different project. Galibert by contrast, productively elevates metaphor to the level of an analytic. Metaphors of holographic projection, micro-macrocosmic relations and reticulation become recurrent heuristics, to suggest the vertical connections between the map and the village, the village and the island. Instead of chapters, the book itself is organised in 'islands' and 'archipelagoes' (recalling Deleuze and Guattari's 'plateaux' - 1980). Similarly, the figure of Bonardi, whose travels are the thread of the book's account of the village, is flanked by three metaphorical figures drawn from fiction – Ulysses, Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver – each of which dominates one section of the book.

Bonardi as Ulysses travels the world with his village in mind and his return in view. In this section of the book, a fragmentary historiography of French colonialism is folded into the life of one (absent) villager, who will one day return. The ethnography of one individual element of Sarrola – Bonardi himself – thus continues abroad. But Galibert also traces the many connections and parallels between the places visited and the village. Concerns and debates around the uncle's vines back home intersect with the colonial soldiers' consumption of imported wine (2004A, 106-109); Bonardi's accumulation of written reports prefigure the skills he will later deploy as head of the municipal council (2004A: 113), while his letters home request the tidbits of news "destined to people the avowed emptiness of everyday military-administrative life, with the plenitude of the everyday in Sarrola, negating exoticism in favour of the valorisation of the community of origin." (2004A: 126). Bonardi as Robinson Crusoe, partakes in the making and remaking of his village, albeit at a distance, via moneys sent home and letters negotiating the marriage of his sister or the management of property. Under Galibert's pen, these details blossom into accounts of the multiple and intricate contests over politics, gender and

kinship which divide the village. But this division, is also, in another sense, a unity, as these internal conflicts are subsumed segmentarily and encompassed within a broader web which reaches out eventually to the island as a whole: "It is in these internal negotiations and arguments, these translations of the administrative, the institutional and the civic, into passionate family intensities, that we see the ingenuity and the resistance of a people, from the very heart of the family, and by capillarity, to family groups and to the island as a whole." (2004A: 161). Bonardi as Robinson Crusoe evidences both the importance of individual actors in the making of this collective entity, and the irrelevance of mere geographical distance to the crafting of the local. Finally, in a section which covers some of the ground we have discussed in relation to the *Guide non touristique,* Gulliver stands as the mark of a meta-reflection on the first two characters: "an epistemologist of the voyage, of the visit and the return, a thinker of the frontier and a thinker of those who pass frontiers: an anthropologist of anthropology." (2004A: 44)

This mixing of metaphors and materials, of details and overviews, challenges, as I noted above, the scalar logics which associate intimacy and community with the local, imagination and ideology with larger entities. Galibert's account bridges the gap between 'real face-to-face societies' and 'imagined communities' through the examination of what (with reference to Herzfeld 1997) one might call 'extended intimacies'. At the simplest level, to speak of *extended* intimacies is to underline the fact that intimacy is not necessarily local or small scale; hardly a novel point, one might say, since anthropologists have long been talking of 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai 1991) and 'multi-sited cultural formations' (Marcus 1995). More profoundly, however, it is to point out that intimacy need not be scalar *at all*, that is to say, that intimate relations may seamlessly weave together entities of different sizes and belonging to different ontological categories: persons, objects, nations, houses, tiny gestures and whole islands can map intimacies

across time and space.

Galibert's approach to these extended intimacies could perhaps be read as an instance of what Robert Oppenheim (2007) has recently termed a "distributed phenomenology", an approach which treats place as "a simultaneity of terrains of actuality and potentiality and […] the intertopological movements that inextricably connect and collect them" (ibid:XX). Galibert's distributed phenomenology traces the extended intimacies of Sarrola Carcopino beyond the contingency of time and space. His prose connects and collects snippets of letters, military records, maps, impressions, holographically finding, in each of the fragments he focuses on, the seed of a potential holistic account.

> "The links between these fragments of social and individual lives constitute these fragments into a cosmos. Thus, the framing, hanging and conservation, today, on the wall of a family living-room of the certificate of the Order of knights of Annam dragons (won by Jean-Simon Bonardi in his military feats in the Tonkin), allow us to 'read' a certain historical organisation of the Sarrola community, and the dynamics of its representations, for over a century." (2004A: 222-223)

A return to difference

"The aim is first and foremost to allow another voice to be heard, perhaps even the voice of the other, which – when it is not a simple echo of the voice of the same – constitutes a place and a moment for the (re)foundation of the anthropological project of understanding the meaning and the diversity of human worlds." (Galibert 2004A, 47)

A distributed phenomenology constitutes a profound challenge to the instincts of an earlier school of identity studies which had so productively extended the Barthian insight

that identity is nothing other than an effect of contrastive definitions. As Oppenheim points out,

> "Distributedness [...] pushes anthropological understandings of place, locality and subjectivity away from the sufficiency of structuralist notions of negative or contrastive definition. A place *is* not (only) because of what it is not, through the work of boundaries, but in its gathering and collusion of othernesses and spatiotemporal elsewheres" (Oppenheim, 2007, p. 486).

Galibert himself does not in the main cast his work as a critique of Barthian approaches to identity, and indeed often invokes the contrastive power of self-other distinctions, particularly at the inter-individual level in political and honour contests within the village. And yet, it is notable that these are subsumed into broader segmentary logics which characterise specific interiorities on the scale of the island and even the village. There, contrastive definition is never allowed to exhaust the existence and meaning of a *something* of the village or the island, which remains something more than the echo of what it is not: "For the islander, the conscience of the island does not presuppose that of the continent, the islander specificity is neither secondary nor derived." (2004A:180). In this respect, Galibert's work recalls the point made by critics of the 'construction of difference' school who have suggested we refocus our gaze on how belonging is put together through positive connections to people, stories and places, rather than through the negativity of contrastive definition (Edwards 1998).

More broadly – at the risk of reading his work through my own obsessions (cf. Candea 2010:2-5) – one might say that Galibert's project resonates with a 21st century (re)turn to difference in Anglophone anthropology. After two decades marked by a suspicion of 'Othering', flanked by an interest in the construction of difference and the contrastive

politics of identity, voices have arisen within the discipline which proposed a 'return to the native' informed by concerns about the perils of 'saming' (Viveiros de Castro 2003). In this vein, while Galibert's writing is motivated in part by the desire to avoid misunderstandings between Corsica and its French observers (2004A:11-13), doing so does not take the form of a reduction of the imagined distance between Corsica and France. Rather, for Galibert, anthropology's aim is to ask questions which will "allow a culture to render its own difference more explicit, both to itself and to others" (2004A, back cover). This philosophical commitment to putting difference first is explicitly outlined in a striking passage, in which Galibert first points to, only to recoil from, a certain form of transparent mutual understanding:

> "The perception of the other is only authentic when the contingency and the paradoxes of his life-world take me back to the contingency and paradoxes of any human life, and therefore, firstly, to my own. When, from a "point of view", we arrive to a "point of life" [*un point de vie*]. But such lucidity is not even desirable. If a human group were to reach such a level of detachment from itself that its members realised and thereby desacralised what relates them, wafting away the artifices in which this relation is grounded, such a group would scatter because its members would no longer have anything in common. They would have undone the bind which made them into a people and pulled them out of the state of a horde. We thus arrive at the following conclusion: what binds some and gives meaning to their life is what separates them from others, and the knowledge which overcomes prejudices unmakes the illusions of life." (2004B:124)

Informed by this commitment to difference, Galibert's distributed phenomenology embodies an implicit challenge and counterpoint to Barthian constructivism which is far more formidable than the tired straw man of simplistic primordialism. Here is, finally, a

worthy adversary for those who, amidst the recent chorus of returns to alterity, would retain some of the reservations about the primacy of difference born of an earlier constructivist school of thought. This is an adversary who breaks his opponent's best weapon by showing that meaning and wholeness exist despite and even emerge from fragmentation[4], and who replaces the crudely romantic image of the isolated local community, with the protean figure of a local-diasporic, total-fragmented, human-material-semiotic entity which constantly interfaces with the other without ever ceasing to be itself.

In reply, the skeptic, chastened but ready to pick up the gauntlet, might ask what happens if we fold into the account the difference of non-Corsican villagers and visitors who are not the anthropologist himself. The anthropologist, whether as detached, respectful observer, or as impassioned seeker after the ineffable something, or from any permutation of these various positions, tends to find their own otherness, their own claim to place, in some important ways under erasure. But there are other others, in Corsican villages and elsewhere, (tourists, labour migrants) who are not so willing to cede the ground, or to accept the value of an ineffable 'gathering' from which they feel excluded. Conversely, there are those, both in Corsica and elsewhere, who do not feel their identity to be irremediably, or even meaningfully, defined by either their origin or their 'dwelling'. Can we bring these other others too within the picture without fracturing the frame? Might not such a fracturing lead us to an anthropology which is truly *between* self and other?

Whether or not one wishes to arrive at the same shores, however, Galibert's work is well

[4] "The concept of culture allows for the diversity of these internal practices relating to language, land, blood, religion, the other, a manner of being, and being different." (2004A, 224).

worth the voyage for any anthropologist interested, not only in Corsica and in villages, but in the question of emplacement and belonging more generally. I first came across this work in 2008, as I was revising the manuscript of my own book on Corsica (Candea 2010), and was immediately struck by the similarity of the problems and questions we both faced, despite the differences in our methods and guiding sensibilities: the dry heuristic and methodological flatness of "arbitrary location" (Candea 2007) is in many ways the inverse of Galibert's richly polygraphic approaches to the ineffable something which evades totalisation, and my interest is more often retained by those irreconcilable fragments which do not form a cosmos. But along the way, it seemed to me, we more than once turned opposite corners to behold the same scene – and in the teeming richness of his texts, I find more instances of this with every re-reading. Proof, if any were needed, that Galibert was right about Corsica's power to simultaneously focus and evade the observer's gaze. Perhaps, after all, there *is* something.

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